593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son
593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in
835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken
[538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-
● 538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

●538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

[113]

1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

●538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534]

3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

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634
778
726

/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

538

1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [554] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
● 538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

2: Wilken--198 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[162 cont.]

MI 538 Many of the later sjair deal with historical subjects of recent times, for example: the Sjair pĕrang Batawih = history of the capture of Batavia by the British in 1811; Sjair pĕrang Bali or Sjair Djendral Michlis (Michiels), a poem about the third Bali expedition and the death of General Michiels; Sjair Kompĕni wolanda bĕrpĕrang dengan Tjina, a poem about the struggle between the Company and the Chinese and the murder of the Chinese under Governor General Valckenier.

MI 538 779 We now come to the prose, which includes, first, religious writings and works on Mohammedan jurisprudence. All these come from the Arabic and were written by Mohammedan priests or under their influence. They consist in large part of explanations of the Koran, teachings on the dogma and rites of Islam, and rhetorical prescriptions and adaptations of writings of Arabian jurists. Many of them were drawn up in Atjeh. The Saribu masail or masaila, the thousand questions, is one of the foremost among them. This work is known throughout the Mohammedan world. It contains a thousand questions that were submitted by a learned Jew, Abd'oellah bin Salām, to Mohammed, who answered them with the help of the angel Gabriel, whereupon Abd'oellah and his followers embraced Islam. The questions covered all kinds of subjects, such as religion, geography, astronomy, etc., actually a hodgepodge of all kinds of nonsense. MK [538 779] The work is known throughout the Indies, and there is a translation in Buginese. It seems to have been translated originally from the Persian. Another work of some reputation is the Mirror of the Studious, miratu'l-tollab. It also bears a Malayan title, MI 671 795 Tjermin sĕgala marika jang mĕnuntut elmu faqih pada mĕmudahkan sĕgala hukum sjai ɔ Allah, which is translated as "Mirror for those who want to study jurisprudence [163] in order to facilitate the administration of justice according to the Law of God." This should adequately show its content. It, too, was written by a priest on Atjeh and was compiled by him according to the abridged writings of the Shafiitic sect.

Redjang-Lampong OD12
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6

[185 cont.]

B RL 538 If this takes place in the daytime and the singers are seated in rows, they are called berduwi; if the singers are standing then they are called berlandai. If they are sung in the evening and the singers are seated in rows, they are called njambai. Besides erotic songs, satires are sung, such as the following example of a Redjang serambah:

RL [539] Dolo rabab bertongkei = Formerly it was playing the violin (making fun),
Kini kopi berbua = Now, it is making coffee (seeing to it that coffee comes).
Dolo hadat dipakei = Formerly the adat was observed,
Kini rodi berguna = Now forced labor is the rule.
Comment is superfluous.

MK ●538 This kind of verse is also found among the Makassarese and Buginese. They are called kelong Mak. and elong Bug. (2).

2. Matthes, Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, notes.

A peculiarity to be kept in mind is that neither the Makassarese nor the Buginese have rhymed poetry. Their poetry is distinguished from the prose only by a kind of rhythm and by a certain parallelism in expressing various ideas in various forms which are placed next to one another, as is done in Arabic and Hebrew poetry. An example of such parallelism is taken from the Psalms: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path" (3), or "At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder

3. Psalm 119:105.

they hastened away" (4), or "The Lord is compassionate and

4. Psalm 104:7.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy; He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkaʾ, that is, the language of the man of Bakkaʾ. Bakkaʾ is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkaʾ is a certain Datu Bakkaʾ, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkaʾ is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 574 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a Buginese who welcomes you with manri mana-no = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkaʾ, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express: [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

MK [187 cont.]
538 but it is highly regarded by the Buginese because of its antiquity and its content. They even attribute supernatural power to it, and parts of it are read to the sick as a kind of remedy.

With this we conclude our discussion of poetry and shall turn to prose, limiting ourselves exclusively to the Batak, Buginese, and Makassarese.

B
538 Almost all the prose pieces of the Batak known to us consist [188] of stories that are often very indelicate, but give us important information for a knowledge of the people. These stories have two names, turi-turijan and habar-habaran. The former are rendered in a singsong tone; the latter are spoken. The first-named are often interlarded with andung words (1).

1. Niemann, "Letterkunde der Bataks [Literature of the Batak]," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 1866, pp. 245 ff.

MK
538 Makassarese and Buginese prose has more variety. In the
173 first place, there are various historical writings, which give the history of various kingdoms, such as Gowa, Tanette, etc., and also chronicles and journals of sovereigns, sure bilang (which are always very long-winded and therefore unenjoyable). Then there are the stories particularly in Buginese, called pau-pau (2)

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. X, pp. 431 ff.

and the so-called rapang (Makassarese) or latowa (Buginese) (3).

3. Niemann, "de Latowa," Bijdragen, 4th series, Vol. VIII, pp. 198 ff.

[188 cont.]

MK 538 [172] The rapang and latowa contain the pronouncements and communications of former sovereigns and scholars on all kinds of subjects concerning the art of government, law, morals, etc. The word rapang means "image, likeness." According to Dr. Matthes, the collection may owe its name to the metaphors that often appear in it. It is also possible that it was so-named because it praises the example set by the ancestors, which is to be followed. The word latowa is derived from towa = old, and la, the defining prefix; hence, latowa = the old, because it has come down from the ancestors.

The writings referred to above are all originals. In addition a number of pieces have been taken from the Malay, especially the romantic writings. The Makassarese and Buginese have a prose adaptation of the Sjair Bidasari, for example. The religious writings, too, are mostly translations and as a rule are from Arabic works. In general, however, there is more original Buginese literature than Makassarese.

B 538 The situation is different with regard to Batak literature. A characteristic [189] of it is that actual translations of foreign works do not appear in it. The few that are present have a very Batak character so that only the name betrays the foreign origin.

I 538 Now a few words about the peoples who do not possess alphabetic writing. These peoples, too, have some literary products, those that have been transmitted orally and so preserved. There are no prose works, to use this term for the sake of brevity, but, on the other hand, there are poetical works. This is in the nature of things. Among all peoples song and singing must have been the first forms man used to unburden his feelings and to express the thoughts that he wanted to be saved for posterity. The only evidence of literary theory among people who have no script is the poems, which are transmitted from parent to child and which are sung on various

A 538 occasions, at feasts and at play. Let us elucidate this with some examples taken from the vernacular of the Ambonese.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.

565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

1 [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not even write letters here. They did not know that their script came from India originally, and they were surprised when I gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach their own language to their children and the latter also learn Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Nevertheless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
517 reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
181 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the general impression is that there is not much of an urge in